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793 the fqih, fed by turn (nubth), receives one-fifth of the yield of the land in habus, the "rich widow"[97], and the others get what falls to them gratuitously. In the amarras or storehouse/silo guardian of
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624 the Eastern Rif[98], we see another functionary of the jma'th, who, through the asuqi (25 kilos for 4 mudd, or measurements of barley)[99], was in charge of the preparation and custody of individual silos in fixed places, called ma'ar, which came to represent, for Rifians, the collective storehouses of agadir-s (whence the place name Ajdir, existing in both the tribes of Aith Waryaghar and Igzinnayen) of the Moroccan South[100].

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[623] The iziddjifen or family heads were the real directing nucleus of the jma'th; and in the clan, the governing body was made up of the imqqranen or "big ones", who habitually met, with legislative and executive functions, in the market. The clan delegates were collectively known as the Aith-(th)arba'in and the meeting itself, the agrau (pl. igrawn), of the tribe. The Aith(th)arba'in were unappealable. Fqih-s and men of law were mediators, collectors or executors.
646 The Aith(th)arba'in, however, made the laws, interpreted them, and obliged people to obey them, without discussion, backtalk or subterfuge. This was a true form of popular representation, the powers of which, although they did not emanate directly from the people in many cases, or through a European-style elective system, were indirectly derived from, and with the tacit consent of, their constituents..... It is a rare person who can produce a document which accredits him as a popular (author's italics) representative, either circumstantial or permanent, but, nevertheless, no one with a better title or more

000 [114] paradoxically, a "fifth" is larger than a "fourth"--so he employs "canton" to avoid confusion. He has failed to see that essentially, the two terms are interchangeable (a fact which once again underlines the fluidity of Berber and Arabic social unit terminology) and that ar-rba', which is almost always used to denote maximal segments in tribes possessing less than five of these, is also employed, more often than is khums, to designate the five maximal segments of tribes which do have "fifths".

[343] [114] [113] 23--There are no collective storehouses in the Rif proper, as there are all over the Atlas, and here Blanco has committed a major error. However, Montagne has signalled their presence in parts of the Ghmara, to the west of the Rif. See R. Montagne, Un Grenier Collectif de l'Anti-Atlas: l'Agadir des Ikounka, Paris: Larose, 1930.

24--It is somewhat difficult to understand precisely what Blanco means in this connection. However, his MSS. chapters on religion and economics were only evidently projected, and never written.

25--Dhaddarth is properly "house", and dhimssi (lit. "fire") is "hearth", whereas the normal word for nuclear family is nubth, pl. nubath, lit. "turn".

26--In the original, la major fuerza y derecho es el de los mas fuertes. Indeed, Rifians themselves generally conceptualize the cultural goals of their society during the 'Ripublik' in very similar terms.

27--In the original, un contrato de compraventa. Marriage is indeed conceptualized contractually in the Rif, as elsewhere in the Muslim world, but it need hardly be pointed out that compraventa, "buying and selling", is highly misleading.

28--The word "absolute" is, in this connection, of course, extreme; but, considering the position of women in Spain itself at the time, it is interesting that a Spaniard should have employed it.

29--The marriage contract document, or zujiya, is written (both today and as far back into the past as any Rifian's memory goes), in conformity with the Shari'a. It says, in effect, that A, son of B, has married X, daughter of Y, in the presence of C, D, and E, and is signed by a qadi (judge of Shari'a law) and two 'adul (sing. 'adl), [114] or notaries public. Blanco is in error in saying that the zujiya document was unwritten until recent times, because during the "Republik" period, the fqih or schoolmaster of the local mosque--a man who was and is usually only slightly more literate than his constituents--drew it up. It is in any case axiomatic in the Rif [692] that whatever other cases (primarily criminal) that he did not handle, a qadi invariably resolved all matters pertaining to: a) marriage, b) divorce, and c) land. This means, in turn, that in all these cases, the necessary documents were drawn up in Arabic--at least theoretically!

[114] 30--This is not so today, nor, we suspect, was it so in the past. Every Rifian has a number of documents, all carefully guarded in his house; and, in addition, most holy men or shurfa have always had genealogical family trees to prove the "genuineness" of their own pedigree.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

assembly was an economic unit. In the Shluh area of southwestern Morocco most of the independent communities have still or had formerly a collective storehouse, or *agadir* (Berber *tighremt*), administered according to minutely established rules."

Under normal conditions the social hierarchy did not extend beyond the family and the assembly. Larger groups assumed importance only in periods of crisis, as when there was a revolt against the sultan or need of defense against an enemy. The next order, which is still of minor importance, is the tribe, traditionally formed of the members of three to ten assemblies. The members of a tribe also claim descent from a common ancestor. The genealogical connotation is apparent in tribal names, which are usually prefixed by *bani* or *aith*, Arabic and Berber, respectively, for "sons of" and "people of." Each tribe has at least one weekly market and a sanctuary—the tomb of the patron of the tribe—which is the focus of an annual pilgrimage. But the manifestations of tribal unity were and are largely ceremonial, and in the past tribal chiefs were elected only in time of war. Moreover, the tribal unit was divided and weakened by an elaborate system of moieties (*leff*). All the communities making up a tribe were thus paired, and every family or clan had the right to call upon its *leff* brothers in an emergency. At various times in Moroccan history, tribes have been grouped to form confederations, but large organizations of this sort had neither a permanent chief nor an assembly. With the exception of the Rifians, most Moroccans have lost interest in the confederations. "On the whole," as Henri Terrasse remarks, "Morocco has been a conglomeration of little Berber republics keen to maintain their autonomy and, in case of need, to defend vigorously or reconquer in pitiless revolts their independence and their customs."[113]

Wherever Arabic has replaced Berber speech, there also Qur'anic law has replaced the old tribal order. In such areas one can no longer speak of "Berbers," but neither can one speak of "Arabs," in the sense of Arabians or Levantines. The cultural dichotomy now evident in northern Africa is the result of a long process of assimilation. The forces which have brought about Arabization are analogous to those which produced the Hispanization of Latin America. This analogy is reasonable, for the number of Arabians in the Atlas is probably no larger than the number of Spaniards in the Andes.

Punic and Roman Influence

The historic period did not begin at the same time for the whole of Barbary. Along the coast it began with the arrival of the Phoenicians, late in the second or early in the first millennium B.C. It is probable that the Barbary coast was visited by Minoans and Egyptians also, but there is no evidence that they founded colonies. The regions occupied by the Phoenicians became part of the civilized Mediterranean world. Carthage, near the modern city of Tunis, was founded in 814 B.C. by settlers from Tyre. Utica, thirty kilometers to the northwest, and Gades (Cádiz) date from 1101 B.C. Other settlements, a day's voyage apart, were founded on the Algerian coast. On the Rifian coast it appears that colonies were

[113] For detailed accounts of the Moroccan granaries, see Dj. Jacques-Meunié, *Greniers-citadelles au Maroc* (Paris: Larose, 1951); and Robert Montagne, *Un Magasin collectif de l'Anti-Atlas: l'Agadir des Ikounka* (Paris: Larose, 1930).

[113] Henri Terrasse, *Histoire du Maroc* (Casablanca: Editions Atlantides, 1949), I, 33.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Senhaja MX4

coastal plains between Rabat and Ksar al-Kebir, but they have not yet penetrated the northern zone.

Ghmaran houses differ slightly from those farther to the west. Like the Jbalan houses they are rectangular and have thatch roofs. Ghmaran houses may, however, have two stories. Another distinguishing feature is that adjoining structures often have common roofs. Ghmaran hamlets, like those in Sanhaja as-Srair, tend to develop into units of L- or U-shape (pl. 2, *a*). When a second story is added, steps are cut into the adobe walls. (In Sanhaja as-Srair the second floor is reached by a notched log.)

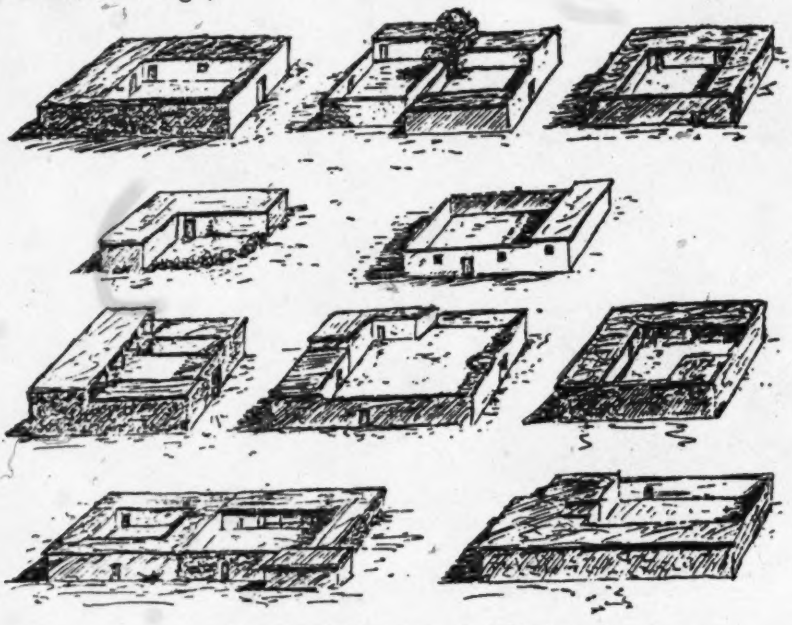

Fig. 19. Examples of Rifian courtyards, Aith Wariyaghar.

by a notched log.) Ghmara seems to be the only area in northern Morocco with special structures built to serve as granaries. Communal granaries (*agadir*) usually have the form of the prevalent houses.[10] Individual or family granaries are small structures of adobe brick and plaster set on wooden planks and supported by stone pedestals.[11]

At first glance, Sanhajan houses seem much like those in Ghmara and Jbala. The difference is in detail rather than in general outline. The foundation of the Sanhajan house is a rectangular shell of mud brick or stone with end sections constructed to form peaks about two meters above the walls. The two ends of

[10] In northern Morocco communal granaries are found only in the territory of the Bani Zejal. Robert Montagne, *Un Magasin collectif de l'Anti-Atlas: l'Agadir des Ikounka* (Paris: Larose, 1930), p. 64 and figs. 24, 25.

[11] J. Caro Baroja, *Estudios Mogrebies* (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Africanos, 1957), p. 133.